

## Book Reviews

*Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory.* By Patrick Vinton Kirch. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1985. X + 349 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$26.00.

Knowledge of Polynesian prehistory is based on the results of related but distinct investigations. These include the study of the plants cultivated by the Polynesians; the evidence for differentiation and change in Polynesian languages; and the comparative analysis of oral traditions, of technological achievements, and of the social, political, and religious characteristics of Polynesian societies at the time of European contact. The most central of all these studies, however, is archaeology and its handmaiden, radiocarbon dating. And because it is the central discipline, archaeology has assumed the role of combining all the evidence on Polynesian prehistory into a coherent pattern. Patrick Kirch has done this for Hawai'i with distinction. His book is a clearly written, carefully organized, abundantly illustrated, and handsomely produced volume.

Kirch has undertaken the difficult task of providing an up-to-date review of Hawaiian archaeology and prehistory, yet writing without technical jargon and in a manner both comprehensible and stimulating to the many nonarchaeologists with an interest in the subject. I feel he has been successful in this task largely because he has been able to portray archaeology as a dynamic and developing pursuit in its methods, problems, and orientation. Kirch shows how archaeology began very modestly in Hawai'i in the early years of this century and continued with limited but pioneering studies until World War II. Thereafter, archaeology became established mainly through the stimulus of Kenneth Emory. It has since developed new approaches

emanating from Roger Green, Douglas Yen, and Yosihiko Sinoto, and an imaginative and energetic younger generation of archaeologists, of which Kirch himself is pre-eminent.

Kirch begins his book with a chapter on Hawai'i at the time of European contact and on disciplinary approaches to Hawaiian prehistory. He then proceeds to outline the environmental setting of the Islands and the diversity of their ecosystems, to which the Hawaiian colonizers had to adapt and which they utilized and modified. There follows a survey of the types of archaeological sites in Hawai'i and of methods, dating, and chronology. Kirch next places Hawai'i in the time framework of Oceanic settlement and of Polynesian voyaging from the Tonga-Samoa area, where Polynesian culture as such first crystallized.

After these initial chapters, Kirch lays out the Hawaiian archaeological evidence, beginning with the earliest sites dating from the 4th to the 7th Centuries. This is followed by an island by island survey, from Nihoa and Necker southeastward, to the island of Hawai'i. Archaeological coverage of the Hawaiian chain is still very uneven. Ni'ihau is a virtual blank and Lāna'i relatively uninvestigated except for description of surface remains. For each island, Kirch describes the field research that has been accomplished, the nature of the sites, the chronology involved, cultural changes that are manifest, and cultural variation compared to other islands in the chain.

Portable artifacts—tools, fishing gear, domestic implements, ornaments—the debris of daily life that has survived through time, provide a partial view of the workaday world of the ancient Hawaiians. These artifacts also serve as indicators of change. Kirch gives an overview of these components of material culture without sinking the reader under a mass of technical detail.

As Hawaiian archaeology has developed, it has broadened its concerns beyond questions of chronology to include recent sophisticated field work on Hawaiian adaptation to the sea, from which the Hawaiians derived most of their animal protein, and to the land, from which they obtained their vegetable food. Through time these adaptations became intensified. For the sea, this took place through fishpond construction and aquaculture. For the land, it is manifest in the elaboration of valley irrigation agriculture and the expansion of both valley cultivation and dryfield farming. These developments were in turn related to changing settlement patterns, whose investigation is also recent, and to prehistoric population growth and to marked alterations in the natural environment brought about by the

Hawaiians themselves. All these changes in ancient Hawaiian life were intimately tied to the political, economic, and religious organization of Hawaiian society. Thus the archaeologist faces the challenge of dissecting prehistoric Hawaiian culture as a complex system of related variables changing through time. Kirch presents the evidence on these variables in the light of this challenge. He does so without falling into the trap of assigning priority to a single variable, such as population growth, as the cause for changes in the other variables, a procedure which at this stage cannot be validated.

In summarizing his views on the evolution of Hawaiian culture, Kirch includes his version of the prehistoric Hawaiian cultural sequence. It begins with a Colonization Period (A. D. 300–600), followed by a Developmental Period (A. D. 600–1100), an Expansion Period (A. D. 1100–1650), and a Proto-Historic Period (A. D. 1650–1795). For each period, changes in the production system, material culture, population, warfare, and socio-political structure are detailed. Kirch conceives this sequence as an independent Hawaiian cultural growth, minimally affected if at all by possible voyaging contacts with the Society Islands or the Marquesas after the initial colonization of Hawai'i, a position with which others may disagree. My own reaction to Kirch's sequence is that despite its speculative character it is the most useful ordering device yet proposed for Hawaiian prehistory.

Kirch reminds us that Hawaiian prehistory is very much an unfinished story. But the remarkable progress that has been achieved in increasing knowledge of the Hawaiian past makes Kirch's book a timely and much needed contribution. Both the interested public and professional archaeologists are in his debt.

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*Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii.* By Valerio Valeri. Translated by Paula Wissing. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985. Xxvii + 446 pp. Illustrated. \$40.00; \$20.00 (paper).

Valeri's long-awaited study of Hawaiian ritual is a major contribution on several levels and will certainly invigorate the debate about the nature of the ancient religion. The principle focus of this

work is the *luakini* temple ritual, where the ruling chief offers human sacrifices (ideally, his rivals) to the god Kū and thereby confirms his conquest of the land. To support his analysis of these rites, Valeri offers an overview of Hawaiian theology and cosmology, a theory of sacrifice, a Lévi Straussian interpretation of the Papa/Wākea myth, a classification of *heiau* types, and an analysis of the concepts of *kapu*, *noa*, and *mana*, as well as excursions into a host of other topics. This is a rich and complex work, indisputably an intellectual tour de force. But reconstruction of a symbolic system requires a degree of daring, and empiricists should be forewarned that Valeri's method is sweepingly deductive. Undoubtedly, some will balk at his analysis of Hawaiian theology and object that his interpretations sometimes stray too far from the data. But many of Valeri's insights—particularly about the relationship between ritual and chiefly politics—are inspired. And by bringing together in a single work all the available evidence pertaining to the Hawaiian sacrificial religion, he has performed an inestimable service. One of the major contributions of this work is precisely that it will bring to a wider audience the kind of discussion and debate that previously occurred only among a few specialists.

Along with the recent works of Marshall Sahlins, *Kingship and Sacrifice* sets high standards for comprehensiveness in Hawaiian ethnohistory. Henceforth, anyone beginning research on the ancient society will have to start with Valeri's introduction, where he lists and evaluates virtually all the non Hawaiian accounts of the early postcontact period and most of the important Hawaiian texts on ritual. He is to be commended for relying primarily on original Hawaiian texts describing the rituals, and for using diacritics for Hawaiian words and names (with a few errors, such as the missing macron in the plural forms *'aumākua*, *kānaka*, and *wāhine*). Particularly useful is his presentation of different accounts in counterposition, such as the table of species *kapu* to women as recounted by various sources. Valeri espouses the Levi Straussian premise that the different versions constitute a set of transformations, each equally important in delineating the whole.

Valeri's most impressive argument may be his exposition of the fundamental relationship between the Hawaiian sacrificial religion and the political power of the *ali'i*. He also demonstrates convincingly that the chiefly *kapu* and the food restrictions impinging on women are part of the same logical scheme, and that the ritual hierarchy is inseparable from the structure of Hawaiian society. His treatment

of "high" foods and offerings accords well with my own work on modern Hawaiian exchange. The statement that the exchange relationship between humans and gods "is conceived as reciprocal—in a sense, as one of mutual indebtedness" (p. 67) rings particularly true and can be generalized to the precontact relationship between commoners and chiefs.

Inevitably, in such a detailed work, some interpretations seem less convincing than others. There are places, particularly in the section on Hawaiian theology, where the deduced symbolic associations seem to acquire a life of their own apart from the data. Valeri is careful to add the caveat that his analysis "must be considered conjectural," but phrases such as "it seems reasonable to suppose," "it is likely that," and "we must deduce that" appear with disquieting frequency. I am also troubled by his occasional citations to modern sources when they support his point; this is unnecessary in light of his evident command of the early materials and merely tends to weaken his argument.

Valeri's analysis operates at a synchronic and categorical level. This perspective may be appropriate for the reconstruction of a symbolic system, and it works well when applied to society's paragons—in this case, *ali'i* men. But an account that does not explore contextual variation or possible contradictions between ideology and action offers uneasy accommodation for Hawaiian women. Valeri excludes women from the system of sacrifices because they are categorically impure, *noa*. In order to maintain the categorical opposition between men and women, pure and impure, he must pay short shrift to goddesses and dismiss evidence that women did make offerings in contexts other than the *luakini*.

Valeri notes that women were the genealogical equals of men in determining the rank of their offspring but states that in the Hawaiian scheme, "sacrifice is superior to genealogy" (p. 114). Men are active in ritual, while women have only a "passive" relationship with the gods, and this is "only natural" because of their association with childbearing. This categorical equation may be correct for *heiau* sacrifice, but it is also strikingly Western and therefore somewhat suspicious when applied to the Hawaiian context. In light of the intense sexual politicking that is described in Hawaiian myth-history, the statement that genealogical ties represent "passivity" while sacrifice embodies "the superiority of action" seems highly arbitrary. At least in some contexts, chiefly women exercised considerable control over their reproductive potential, and that of their daughters

and granddaughters. My own reading of ethnohistorical and archival materials does not support the contention that "feminine passivity" (p. 114) characterized Hawaiian women. The notion that women may be passive "only" at the symbolic level also seems unconvincing.

Inescapable problems arise when one attempts to deal with Hawaiian women on an exclusively categorical basis. What is striking in the descriptions of the rituals is the extent to which products made by women—mats, fine tapas, and *malo* 'loincloths'—are utilized in offerings, acts of consecration, and, in the final Hale o Papa rites of the *luakini* ritual, to free men from a *kapu* state. Valeri equates wrapping with consecration (pp. 300–301), and it is curious that the products of impure women perform this function. This is perhaps an area where an alternative explanation is more appropriate; one that would explore the value of women in Hawaiian society and symbology as multivalent and contextually shifting.

These criticisms do not detract from the overall value of this work, however. Valeri inspires us to look more closely at the available materials on the Hawaiian religion. Provocative statements suggesting avenues for further research abound. Valeri notes, for example, that "on Kaua'i at least, Kāne and Kanaloa seem to have been the dominant gods," but the religion of Kū "became generalized from the island of Hawai'i" (p. 185) with the conquest. The rituals of Kāne and Kanaloa may indeed be irrevocably lost, but scholars may wish to speculate how the ethos of such rites might have contrasted with the fierce religion of Kū, the conquering god. Valeri has reminded Hawaiianists that the lode is rich indeed.

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*Islands of History.* By Marshall Sahlins. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985. Xix + 180 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$22.50.

Marshall Sahlins writes that the people of ancient Polynesia, during centuries of isolation, evolved traditions and value systems distinctively their own. When Western man appeared among the Polynesian islands, his customs were often in drastic conflict with those of the islanders. There was virtually no comprehension of the

value systems of each other, and the causes of most conflicts which erupted remained mysterious to one side or the other. By examining patterns of events and through interpretation, *Islands of History* allows us to comprehend why events unfolded in the way they did.

This book contains five chapters, principally revolving around early Europeans in Polynesia, two chapters being devoted to Captain James Cook. All five chapters were presented as unconnected lectures.

Chapter one recounts the clashes as Cook's men and the Hawaiians ignorantly stumbled along in their relationships with each other. Westerners, for example, had no idea how deeply Hawaiian culture was dominated by sex, it playing a major role in all aspects of life, starting with their concept of the creation of their islands. This concept was that individual islands were conceived in the sky during intercourse between a god and several women and that the resulting children dropped into the sea and became the land masses of Hawai'i. Important as sex was in Western tradition, it did not assume the all-pervading importance it held for the Polynesians.

Among the examples Marshall Sahlins uses in chapter two is Thakombau, the powerful ruling chief of a mid 1800s Fijian confederacy. Events in Thakombau's domain waited on the decisions of the high chief. After years of effort, Methodist missionaries converted Thakombau, and with his conversion his subjects were converted as well. Even some former gods, speaking through priests, were converted to Christianity. This extreme degree of the embodiment of the state into one person was an alien idea to Europeans.

Chapter three deals with the tradition of a high chief coming from a distant place to rule a society in which he is a newcomer; *i.e.* "... these rulers do not even spring from the same clay as the aboriginal people." Thus, the appearance of Captain James Cook among the Hawaiians was a perfectly understandable phenomenon, easily recognizable in Hawaiian tradition. Cook was declared to be the god Lono who had returned to his people after a long absence. The arrival of Lono carried expectations and eventual problems of which the Europeans were not aware. The eventual death of Cook was a part of the tradition of Lono.

Chapter four, "Captain James Cook; or The Dying God," related the often-told story of Cook's visit to the island of Hawaii and the wildly enthusiastic reception given him by the Hawaiians. Sahlins makes excellent use of the accounts of this period, both those kept by crew members, of later Hawaiian accounts of Cook's visit, and of accounts of Hawaiian mythology and history. The scenario of Cook's



death and the events leading up to it proceeds with a powerful sense of predestination.

In the final chapter, entitled "Structure and History," Sahlins recounts the interaction between Cook and the Hawaiians. He gives examples of how Western ways increasingly came to be adopted as contact with the outside world became common. In conclusion, the author defines various terms; *i.e.* "culture is . . . the organization of the current situation in terms of the past."

Marshall Sahlins is an established name among anthropologists. He is the Charles F. Grey Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago. Among his books is *Culture and Practical Reason*.

*Islands in History* is not easy reading, even for those familiar with the subject. The book requires conscious concentration, in part due to the specialized language necessary to any exact discipline. But the problem exceeds this. The author, in carrying on his exciting investigation, becomes enmeshed in ponderous and obscure language which becomes a hardship for the reader.

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*The Art of Featherwork in Old Hawai'i.* By John Dominis Holt.  
Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., Honolulu, 1985. 176 pp.  
Illustrated. \$29.95.

One is able to find quite a nice blend of ingredients in John Dominis Holt's *The Art of Featherwork in Old Hawai'i*. It is more, perhaps, that delicate marriage of contrasts that proves delightful—the ancient, native, disciplined, and formal, coupled respectively with the contemporary, Western, creatively sensitive, and familiar. All of these facets mingle to fashion a unique perspective from which this time-honored art form can be better appreciated.

Holt manages to very selectively present and interpret ancient oral tradition and the postcontact and current literature pertaining to featherwork. By incorporating fine photographs and well-reproduced illustrations with the vivid narrative descriptions, he succeeds in satisfying our visual and intellectual curiosity.

In addition, Holt expresses an assortment of emotional responses to the feathered items. Form, color, and pattern are studied for the possible symbolism that the ancient artisans may have intended and



carefully wove in. Though speculative, these responses merit double consideration: they have been formulated by a well-seasoned Western connoisseur and patron of the arts, and these critical and sensitive impressions are the contributions of a part-Hawaiian reviewing the works of his own ancestors, as well.

Deserving of particular mention is Holt's keen ability to relate both formal history and personal anecdote with equal energy and facility. Historical events which surround specific feather artifacts are colorfully recreated, and those ancient chiefs assume flesh and their feathered garb once again. A few marvelous personal reminiscences provide a pleasant balance to the historical record and naturally enhance the reader's perceptions.

The format and content of Holt's work is well planned and executed without being too repetitive of earlier studies of this art. He is not overly concerned with technique, but he strives instead to impart a sense of the historical and cultural values inherent in native featherwork. This indeed becomes Holt's greatest contribution; unlike many, he is able to draw from his own experiences and interpret local history and tradition as a native Hawaiian.

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*In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science & Empire, 1780-1801.* By David MacKay. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1985. 216 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$27.50.

In this slim volume David Mackay chooses the two decades at the end of the 18th Century to develop his theme that British government policy and activity was impelled by the necessity to react to specific issues and crises as a result of the American War of Independence. In this context the significance of the discoveries of Captain James Cook had marked influence.

To prove his point in succeeding chapters the author describes briefly scientific expeditions, the gathering and transfer of plants and seeds, the whaling industry and the north Pacific fur trade, and the founding of botanical gardens. The influence of Sir Joseph Banks throughout on government policy and activity is delineated.

Mackay's objective appears to be to qualify the thesis of historians who have interpreted the latter half of 18th Century British history

in terms of the formation of a conscious, fully developed imperial policy which began at the end of the Seven Years War as a result of scientific and industrial developments and British superiority at sea. To this group American nationalism had little or no effect on British policy.

Mackay suggests otherwise: crises developed as a result of the American revolution, policy was formed as an intuitive and instinctive response, and old imperatives, priorities, and mercantilist ideas were the formative bases of policy.

The author has meant to weave the interrelationships of science, trade, and politics into his discussion. The brevity of the work, however, limits its usefulness. In order to be fully comprehensive it should be used in conjunction with more detailed studies of the period.

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*Missions and Missionaries in the Pacific*. Edited by Char Miller. Edwin Mellen Press, New York and Toronto, 1985. 125 pp. Bibliography. \$15.95.

In his introduction to this set of three essays, Char Miller speaks of the emerging "professionalism" in mission studies. The body of literature on Pacific missions includes shelves of grim eulogies for missionary heroes, a fair share of diatribes against missionaries as despoilers of island cultures, but more recently a refreshing array of works that take into account cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspectives on mission history. *Missions and Missionaries in the Pacific* takes the later tack.

James A. Boutillier, of the Canadian Royal Roads Military College, contributed the lead essay on factors affecting the conversion phase of 19th Century missionary enterprises. Sidestepping the difficult and perhaps impossible task of identifying truly sincere and total conversions to Christian faith, Boutillier confines his discussion to the nominal conversions of Pacific islanders and sets out to identify internal factors in island societies leading to successful missionization. Boutillier stresses the active role islanders assumed in the process rather than a portrayal of island societies as victims of Christian onslaught. Some of his ground is familiar territory—for instance, the

emphasis on the Christian alliances island chiefs made for political motives—but Boutilier does offer some fresh insights on the role of indigenous missionaries and on cultural variables affecting conversions in Polynesia and Micronesia, as opposed to Melanesia. A synthesis of previously published works rather than one that delves into original sources, Boutilier's article is a valuable and literate review of current thinking on reciprocal cultural interaction in mission fields.

Char Miller has produced several innovative and readable studies on Hawaiian history, most notably his *Fathers and Sons: The Bingham Family and the American Mission* (1982). (Miller will have need to update his Bingham saga with the 1985 reappearance and trial of the contemporary Bingham, Stephen, a renegade attorney with an astonishing physical resemblance to the first Hiram Bingham and a zeal to match.)

Sociological perspectives inform Miller's contribution to *Missions and Missionaries in the Pacific*. His topic concerns conditions of family life in the early years of the Sandwich Island mission, and his thesis has to do with the degree to which work shapes the conditions of family life. He argues that the weight of evidence suggests that family priorities assumed a more important role in the mission than has been previously emphasized. Miller touches in particular on the plight of the mission wife faced with the duty of caring for family and, at the same time, participating actively in the work of the mission. When the mission wife employed Hawaiians as domestics, she was accused of exploitation. (Not much has changed in the last hundred years, today's 20th Century feminists tell us.) It was a mark of maturity, Miller argues, when the mission accepted the limitations of human psychology and ceased a number of practices destructive to the family: for example, the dispatching of children to the mainland for education, and the unnatural isolation of the mission family compound from the "contaminating" Hawaiian social environment.

A concluding essay by Charles Forman, professor of mission at Yale Divinity School, touches on the somewhat neglected history of 20th Century Pacific churches; the heady and often exciting 19th Century conversion phase of religion history in the Pacific has drawn far more attention than have the consolidation processes of the 20th Century. Forman traced the evolution of self-sufficient island churches, a movement in which Tonga and Samoa led the way. Self-support was, of course, tied to self-autonomy for churches. While self-sufficiency at the village level was relatively easy to achieve,

island churches in modern times face a continual financial battle. Churches today have taken on new social responsibilities, notably medical and educational aid, and the new demands mean new expenses. Moreover, modern church concern for the needs of the "global village" have transformed church life but at the same time added new levels of expenses. Thus, Forman concludes, while Pacific churches have come a longer way toward financial independence than have the churches of tropical Africa and southern Asia, a continual process of catch-up has been necessary.

The essays are revisions of presentations at a 1983 conference on Pacific missions held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

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*Kauai: The Separate Kingdom.* By Edward Joesting. University of Hawai'i Press and Kaua'i Museum Association, Honolulu, 1984. Xiv + 299 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$22.50.

Kaua'i has always been different. Throughout the 200 years of Hawai'i's written history, geography, events, and people have conspired to set it apart from the mainstream of Island life. It's as if, somehow, the oldest child of the gods or of the geological forces which created Hawai'i's major islands demanded a special status, a unique identity.

Kaua'i claims the wettest place in the world, Mt. Wai'ale'ale, evidence of ties with the southern islands of Polynesia unknown in the rest of the Hawaiian chain, and the first landfall by a European in Hawai'i, by Captain James Cook on 19 January 1778. And Kaua'i's indigenous population and its leaders asserted their separateness repeatedly in relations with their island neighbors.

Oral tradition tells of a chief named Kalaunuiōhua, who, after having conquered all the rest of the Hawaiian islands, launched an invasion of Kaua'i. Kaua'i's reigning chief, Kukona, and his forces met and decisively defeated Kalaunuiōhua's fleet in the channel between O'ahu and Kaua'i. Twice, in 1796 and again in 1804, Kamehameha mounted invasion forces to conquer Kaua'i, the last of the major islands to remain independent of his rule. Both attempts

ended in disaster. In 1796 the Ka'ie'ie Waho Channel defeated Kamehameha; strong winds and currents swamped his canoes. Eight years later a western disease, *mai'oku'u*, the squatting sickness, decimated Kamehameha's force of 7,000 men before it could leave its gathering place at Ka'a'awa.

In *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom* Edward Joesting relates these aspects of Kaua'i's uniqueness—and many more. He's particularly good at drawing the actors who made Kaua'i's history. There's Kaumuali'i, who, by guile and charm, maintained the Island's independence against Kamehameha and several determined foreign adventurers. There's Georg Scheffer, a German in service to the Russian Court, who attempted, despite the wishes of his superior at the Russian American Company, to make Kaua'i a possession of the Czar. There's Deborah Kapule, Kaumuali'i's favorite wife, who offered her hospitality to the missionaries of 1820, adopted their faith, and provided bed and board to a generation of visitors to her home on the Wailua River.

As a historian Joesting's greatest strengths have always been his writer's eye and ear. In *Hawaii: An Uncommon History* (1972) he demonstrated his ability to see the historical actor invisible to other historians, to hear the words of those too often considered mute, and to appreciate the event, of whatever historical significance, which was intrinsically interesting. In *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom* Joesting's eye is just as keen as it was 15 years ago, his ear just as well-tuned.

He explicates, for example, Kaua'i's 1824 rebellion against the windward island chiefs. What Kamehameha could not achieve by conquest, his son Liholiho and the *kuhina nui* Ka'ahumanu secured by kidnapping and the marriage bed. In 1821 they took Kaumuali'i to O'ahu. Ka'ahumanu made him her husband. For good measure, she also married Keali'iahonui, one of Kaumuali'i's sons. Thus Kauai's subordination to the Kamehameha dynasty was assured.

Three years later Kaumuali'i died, causing the Kaua'i chiefs great anxiety. They feared redistribution of their lands. Led by George Kaumuali'i, a missionary-educated son of the dead chief, disaffected Kauaians rose in rebellion against the windward chiefs and those loyal to them. In two battles the rebels were defeated. The survivors and their followers became a subject class.

It was a tragic episode, but merely one in a series of tragedies which marked the plight of Kaua'i's indigenous people in the 19th Century. They became, as Joesting labels them, "a conquered people,

manipulated by windward chiefs and by the Island's new *ali'i*, the westerners who came to grow sugar.

One such extended western family included Sinclairs, Gays, and Robinsons. They arrived from New Zealand in 1863, intent on buying land and settling. After rejecting offers of Kahuku and Ford Island, they bought Ni'ihau for \$10,000. Elizabeth Hutchinson Sinclair, the clan's leader, recognized the arid island's marginal utility. Two years later she purchased the *ahupua'a* of Makaweli from Victoria Kamamalu for \$15,000. On Makaweli's 21,844 acres the Sinclairs, Gays, and Robinsons secured their fortunes in sugar production and ranching.

Joesting fails to comment on the Sinclair purchase—or on those of other westerners whose land acquisitions dispossessed Kaua'i's indigenous people. If an ear for the good anecdote is Joesting's strength, his failure to take a point of view is his weakness. Kauaians lost their land and with it the basis of their culture. The 19th Century was the most traumatic in Hawai'i's history. Kauaians and their brothers and sisters to windward saw themselves ravaged by disease, their land acquired and developed by an alien population, and their island repopulated by imported labor. Events of that magnitude demand a point of view.

There's one other problem. Joesting writes for a general audience. Of necessity, he must relate, at various junctures, the larger history of Hawai'i and the Hawaiian people. That's fine for the general reader, but for the student of Hawai'i's history such background material provides little that's new and much that's repetitious.

That said, *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom* offers an eminently readable account of Hawai'i's most historically distinctive island.

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*Queen Kapiolani.* By Maili Yardley and Miriam Rogers. Topgallant Publishing, Co., Honolulu, 1985. 65 pp. Illustrated. \$7.95 (paper).

This is the story of the incidents of the life of Kapi'olani, who has been eclipsed in history as she was in life by the energy and flamboyance of her husband Kalākaua. Here she is honored as the founder of the Kapi'olani Maternity Home and a home for children whose

parents had been sent to Kalaupapa with leprosy. This is valuable as a fuller account of her life than the portrait of her in *Notable Women of Hawaii* (1984). It is written in readable style with occasional awkwardness with the meaning of words. Eighteen chants for Kapi'olani, most of them collected and translated by Theodore Kelsey, are an important appendix that create a sense of the qualities of personality to which the composers responded with affection. The chants are rendered even more valuable by interpretive notes that explain the historical context of the chant and shades of meaning in the original Hawaiian text.

Kapi'olani's good works and her quiet dignity as Queen are sometimes lost among romantic descriptions of elegant ball gowns and fashion, such as "she carried a white silk embroidered evening purse with a clasp fashioned in a sunburst of emeralds and diamonds." The detail appears to be included for its own sake without giving us an insight into how the authors believe it will enhance our understanding of her.

A great number of pictures adds immeasurably to the book. It is unfortunate that the cover picture is one in which elegance of dress overwhelms a retouched artificial portrait of Kapi'olani. There are other pictures, both formal and informal, within the text which give a more individual, animated impression of the woman. My own favorite is an informal portrait in 1874 which shows her as a handsome, straightforward, capable woman with a touch of humor about the mouth. A darker ink might better have brought out the full value of the pictures.

A lack of footnotes and an index diminishes the usefulness of the book.

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*Working in Hawaii: A Labor History.* By Edward D. Beechert. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1985. Xi + 401 pp. Bibliography. Index. \$30.00.

One of the most readable books I ever read was Professor Richard Tawney's *British Labor Movement* which was published in 1925. By comparison, Dr. Beechert's *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History*, is a laborious history that takes the reader from the Polynesian days of



the wretched *maka'ainana* (commoner who worked the land largely for the benefit of his chief), through the long period of contract or indentured labor in Hawai'i, to relatively modern times when a significant portion of the work force had become unionized.

I say "relatively modern times" because 75 percent of the text is devoted to the period prior to 1920, with the remaining 25 percent getting the reader only to the end of the 1950s—a full generation ago.

Dr. Beechert states that he stopped the story then because the book was getting too long—which is perhaps true—but I think he disclosed the real reason for its abrupt end in his short closing chapter entitled "Conclusion." As I read it, his conclusion is that the labor movement in the last 30 years or so has gone through a very significant transformation, and that the theme that he chose for his book no longer fits modern conditions.

His theme is that the poor worker—generally underpaid and frequently treated inhumanely—could only improve his condition by developing a sense of class consciousness which pitted him against his common enemy—the rich and powerful ruling class which would use every means to keep him in subjugation. As he says, "The labor history of Hawaii provides ample evidence of the *potential* of the working class to see itself as a class—and at the point at which class consciousness can be said truly to exist, the potential for an organization to express that awareness also comes into being." In the case of Hawai'i, it required an immense amount of time and struggle before such an organization could emerge in the late 1930s, aided and abetted by the Wagner Act which guaranteed American workers the right to organize into unions. For the next two decades the ILWU won victories on the docks, on the sugar and pineapple plantations, and, along with other unions, in many other areas as well.

But by the late 1950s at least three things had happened that transformed the entire labor situation. First, the dominant union, the ILWU, had gained most of its major goals, whether by negotiation or by legislation, and the old idealism and ardor had gone out of the working class movement. In many ways the unions had replaced the old Big Five as the central power structure in Hawai'i. The unions had, in a sense, *become* the establishment, rather than the class-conscious underdog fighting a class battle for a living wage and human dignity.

Second, its members were no longer the poor working stiff who would follow the leader: they were educated, skilled workers who were middle-class citizens and who knew they had a stake in society

and in the proper functioning of the economy.

And third, the character of the opposition had changed. Workers were no longer struggling against the rich and powerful elite who controlled the basic industries where steady, full-time employment by career workers was the rule. Those basic industries had declined (sugar employment only 15 percent of what it had been a generation earlier, pineapple employment drastically reduced, containerization cutting the longshore work force down to practically nothing), and instead Hawai'i was becoming a small business community of trade and service establishments. As Dr. Beechert says, "workers in the United States have not generally been successful in coping with rapid development of the service sector of low-wage, low-security employment" where the opposition is relatively fragmented.

And a possible fourth factor is that the work force was becoming composed to a larger and larger extent of noncareer people—people who we used to call secondary and tertiary workers. Over two-fifths nearly half—the labor force today is composed of women. And nearly half the teenagers in Hawai'i are in the labor market, but without the sense of attachment that their full-time breadwinning, working fathers have.

Under these drastically changed conditions, the story of class struggle that Dr. Beechert tells in his book had to come to an end a generation ago. To the younger reader, his history is ancient history.

But although it is hard to read because of confusing shifts from subject to subject and from time period to time period, it represents a thorough job of research and will be a valuable reference book for people interested in working conditions and labor activities in the earlier days of Hawai'i. And although he is always on the side of labor because of his background as a former union employee and organizer, he is generally fair in his recognition that bad as wages and working conditions in Hawai'i were in earlier generations, they were better than in most parts of the world at that time, and bad as employer opposition to unions was in the early organizing days, the major companies on the Mainland "were much more sophisticated and far more ruthless in their suppression of unionism. By comparison, the iron fist of the Hawaiian employer was well padded with Hawaiian informality, but it was a fist nonetheless."

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*Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community.* By Jocelyn Linnekin. Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1985. Xiv + 264 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$27.00.

Believing that a "definition of authenticity always reflects the current social context . . ." (p. 8), anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin spent a year (October 1974—October 1975) exploring gift-giving and status among villagers in Ke'anae, Maui, in the hopes of arriving at an authentic "meaning of Hawaiian." Her version of this meaning has now appeared as a scholarly work, *Children of the Land*.

Judged within the context of daily life in Ke'anae, Linnekin's effort is telling. Curious readers will learn how an anthropological concept—reciprocity—apparently explains various kinds of exchanges between neighbors and relatives ranging from bananas and baby-sitting to labor at a *lū'au* and the practice of *hānai* (adoption). They will see connections between the most intimate and therefore most meaningful of gifts—children—and generational residence on the lands of Ke'anae. And they will marvel at how Linnekin interprets "giving" (representative of Hawaiian ways) as opposed to "selling" (representative of *haole* ways) in light of the social and physical demarcations between what she calls the "inside" (e.g., rural Ke'anae) and the "outside" (eg. urban West Maui). These distinctions, Linnekin argues, are known by the "limits of reciprocity" which, in turn, comprise the "boundaries of the Hawaiian social world."

This social world is at once self-consciously Hawaiian and yet authentically Hawaiian. Its authenticity stems from many things: the persistence in Ke'anae of the growing and harvesting of taro, the Polynesian staple; the ancient distinction between those who "take care" of the land and those who control it; the emphasis on gift giving to maintain an egalitarian social ethic among villagers. All these have ties to the pre-*haole* Hawaiian past. They are also purposefully enacted by Ke'anae people as typically Hawaiian behavior in the modern present. Thus does Ke'anae manifest Hawaiian tradition.

Through successive chapters Linnekin details land ownership patterns, work and production, households and relatives, and the exchange system. She uses the *lū'au*, largest and most generous of Hawaiian feasts, to establish the continuity of tradition. In a historical sense the *lū'au* is seen to be a descendant of ancient ceremonial feasts where "high" foods were offered to the chiefs and gods. These include the familiar *kālua* pig and sweet potatoes. This evidence,

Linnekin believes, establishes the importance of the *lū'au*. During its preparation and consumption, the highest commodities are exchanged: food and work. But the *lu'au* is also of great significance in the contemporary setting. Through the circulation of "high" commodities, the *lū'au* reveals the interpersonal relations of the people—their expectations and obligations, and the solidarity and centrality of the extended family to Hawaiian life.

In another example Linnekin compares the presence of obviously influential men in the village with their counterparts in Melanesian societies, noting how the Hawaiian "big man" creates a "network of open-ended obligation" which engenders subordinate relations "while preserving the demeanor of friend and equal" (p. 213). In Ke'anae "big men" are of modest means. This is crucial since the egalitarian ethic censures ambition and economic success. By weaving noneconomic ties through carefully manipulated indebtedness, "big men" can call on the service of others. They also expand their households with nonrelated people and thereby add to their ability to command labor, a more significant commodity than material things in the Hawaiian way of life. Linnekin sees the power to make claims on people's labor as the defining element in determining "important people." And this practice apparently has corollaries in early Hawaiian society—another instance of tradition in modern form.

Despite these carefully rendered cases, however, Linnekin has made major errors in her work. Some are factual, others theoretical. And there is also, sadly, a touch of arrogance in her judgments of the contemporary struggle by native Hawaiians for their land and the practice of their culture.

A few examples will suffice. Linnekin claims that "Hawaiians usually eat before going to a party so as not to appear greedy" (p. 150). I was so stunned when I read this, I burst out laughing (as did the dozen or so Hawaiians to whom I told this story), especially as Linnekin wrote this in the context of the *lū'au*. Every Hawaiian I know goes to *lū'au* with a voracious appetite. How is it that Linnekin so misconstrued this characteristically Hawaiian trait? A mistake of this sort—literally the *invention* of tradition by a *malihini* anthropologist—cannot help but raise questions about the accuracy of her observations in other areas.

Then, there is the more revealing problem of Linnekin's translation of *kama'āina* as "old-timer . . . long-time resident of a place," when it is more accurately rendered as one who is "native-born," literally

a "child of the land." The distinction is crucial because she is dealing with the "meaning of Hawaiian." Part of this meaning in its "authentic" form is a reference to those who are "natives," not merely to anyone who happens to be a "long-time resident."

In a broader sense, I have my doubts, too, about Linnekin's interpretation of reciprocity. She views gift giving as a way of maintaining indebtedness which, in turn, leaves the egalitarian social ethic in a state of ambivalence. As a result, cycles of reciprocity periodically rupture only to be renewed later by new cycles. All this sounds reasonable, except that I don't see why reciprocity couldn't be understood, at its inception, as a way of ensuring rather than avoiding indebtedness, particularly in light of the predations of the "outside" economy which includes, as Linnekin notes in passing, tourists and other potential exploiters. Gift giving seems more intelligible to me as a way for villagers to protect their solidarity through reciprocity, thus strengthening their cultural bonds, at least partially, for defensive ends. Perhaps Linnekin makes her interpretation because she is trained in anthropology, a discipline that, in my scholarly judgment, is plagued by an historical bias in favor of the ethnographic present.

Which brings me to my final reservation. The work lacks a larger context that should encompass both the terribly destructive impact of Western imperialism, particularly in its cultural forms, and the present day effort by Hawaiians to resist further exploitation of their culture and their lands. The context which Linnekin does provide (in the first and last chapters) is so fraught with errors that the book would have been better without these two sections.

Again, only a few of the most serious examples follow. Linnekin attempts to place "tradition in the political context" of "Hawaiian nationalism." While this is crucial to her task, she appears not to have done her homework on the Hawaiian movement. Thus, she mistakenly claims that the movement is "urban-based," that *aloha ʻāina* is its "slogan," that the push for reparations is for lands that "commoner Hawaiians lost during the last century," and that "Hawaii's other ethnic groups have not mobilized in specifically nationalist movements" because "of their material success or because of their self-perception" (pp. 8-11).

As a long-time member, and scholar, of the Hawaiian movement, let me set the record straight. The movement is rurally based, arising in Hawaiian communities threatened with commercial development and focused on indigenous Hawaiian claims to the land. These

claims, sometimes called aboriginal rights, are expressed in the traditional Hawaiian value of *aloha 'āina*. This value is not a slogan and, indeed, has its origins in the very practice which Linnekin describes in *Ke'anae*, namely, "taking care" of the land. The argument for reparations from the United States is made in the context of the loss of Hawaiian domain and dominion due to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (1893) with the aid of U.S. military forces. It is remarkable that Linnekin could mistake this when a Presidential Commission issued two volumes on this subject in 1983. Finally, other ethnic groups in Hawai'i have not been nationalist because Hawai'i was never their nation: they voluntarily left their nations to come to Hawai'i, while Hawaiians, as the indigenous people, are the only group to have been made, literally, nationless in the land of their birth.

While I could detail still more errors, I think it clear that Linnekin is treading here on very unfamiliar ground. She has no experience with and, therefore, no basis from which to analyze contemporary Hawaiian resistance, even in the realm of culture, her chosen field. Her judgments in this area, then, are nothing but hubris. As with Linnekin's other egregious errors, I believe this to be a problem of anthropology in general which still suffers from its imperial origins when students set out to explain native cultures from the heights of Western arrogance.

Linnekin's claims should leave the thoughtful reader with some disturbing questions? Can an anthropological study ever accurately describe and interpret the culture of a people so vastly different from the culture of the (almost always) Western investigator? In the case of *Children of the Land*, what happened to the "social context" that was to define cultural "authenticity?" And finally, for us Hawaiians, is this but one more effort so well-meant and yet so dangerous because of the misrendering of the "political context" of our "tradition?" My analytic as well as cultural answer to at least this last question is yes. For those who would engage this kind of thinking, Linnekin's book—despite its flashes of genuine scholarly insight—will try their sense of justice.

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*A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i, 1885-1924.* By Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1985. 229 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. \$49.95; \$19.95 (paper).

The full color, wraparound cover of *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii, 1885-1924* depicts several stocky Japanese immigrants, including a full-breasted woman with a little child, before a dense forest of sugar cane stalks. Between the two sides of J. D. Strong's brilliant painting, commissioned by King David Kalākaua in 1885, an outstanding collection of photographs and carefully researched text present an intimate and complex view of the early Japanese community in the Islands.

Discarding simplistic stereotypes about the immigrant generation, Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto have drawn extensively on the photo archives and bibliographic resources of the Hawai'i Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center at the Bishop Museum to produce the most important published work on the period of mass immigration from Japan. While Sinoto, specialist in Japanese collections at HIHPC, meticulously searched through public and private photo collections, Odo, director of the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i, researched and wrote the chapter drafts.

Through 352 photographs and illustrations, the book offers a startling breadth of visual impressions of the Issei: women field laborers in thick, protective work clothes gathering bundles of cut cane; bare-breasted women and children bathing in a wooden tub; a stiff young bachelor wearing a formal suit for the photograph he would send to Japan to arrange for his marriage to a picture bride; funky Japanese musicians in a travelling plantation band posing in their straw hats with their traditional instruments; a middle-aged laborer in his work clothes shyly holding hands with his wife as she carries their baby on her back; and Japanese working class rebels carrying strike banners in a mass demonstration in the city of Honolulu.

Besides discovering the long-forgotten painting by Strong in the conference room of the Taito Sugar Company in Nagoya, Japan, Sinoto's persistence resulted in the location of many previously unpublished and little-known photographs and illustrations. At the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, for example, she located an actual painting of the *City of Tokio*, the ship that brought the first boatload of government contract immigrants in 1885 to Hawai'i. Previous articles and books have misidentified paintings of the *City of*



*Peking*, another vessel of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., and other ships as depicting the *City of Tokio*.

Like the diverse selection of photographs, the concise, well-balanced text refuses to resort to sweeping, oversimplified statements. Nevertheless, an enormous amount of historical data from English and Japanese language sources is condensed into 60 pages of text. Several chapters offer definitive coverage of their subjects: the chapter on "Plantation Life" offers more detailed information, particularly about the cultural life of the Japanese plantation community, than presented in Ronald Takaki's recent work, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (1983); the chapter on "Japanese Language Newspapers" corrects factual errors that appear in Ernest Wakukawa's *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (1938) and the United Japanese Society's *A History of the Japanese in Hawaii* (1971). The statistical tables on the first-boat and second-boat arrivals and marriage records of 117 couples in 1913-1914 and the chronologies on Japanese language schools and Japanese community organizations will remain important sources of objective data for future scholars.

Aside from the absence of an index, a major weakness of the book is the inadequacy of the reference notes, particularly when Odo and Sinoto abandon long-accepted historical "facts." Although Ralph S. Kuykendall's *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3 (1967), and Hilary Conroy's *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* (1953) state that 943 contract laborers arrived on the *City of Tokio* in 1885, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i, 1885-1924* insists that the first boatload included 944 contract laborers. Rev. Gijo Ozawa's comprehensive *Hawaii Nihongo Gakko Kyoikushi* (1972) (The History of Japanese Language School Education in Hawaii) states that the first Japanese language school was established in North Kohala in 1893, but *A Pictorial History* claims that the first school was Seiji Fukuda's Kula Japanese Language School founded in 1896. While the careful research and scholarly integrity of the entire effort encourage trust in Odo's and Sinoto's conclusions, a discussion of differences with other historians would be helpful.

Perhaps the attitude that restricted participation in scholarly debates is also the source of book's finest accomplishment—becoming a runaway best seller for the Bishop Museum Press. The book's pictorial approach and straightforward text exhibit a concern about making historical research accessible to the general public that is all too often lacking in academic circles. Published during the centennial

of the arrival of the first Japanese government contract laborers in the Islands, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii, 1885-1924* will continue to be an important popular reminder of the multifaceted, complex Issei legacy long after the immigrant generation has passed from the scene.

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*Land and Power in Hawaii.* By George Cooper and Gavan Daws. Benchmark Books, Honolulu, 1985. X + 518 pp. Index. \$19.95.

*Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* is an important book. George Cooper and Gavan Daws revise our historical perspective on the past 30 years of Democratic Party rule in Hawai'i. The authors force us to look anew at a generation of Island political leaders who have, until now, been celebrated—by themselves, by journalists (this one included), and by historians.

In Lawrence Fuchs' *Hawaii Pono* (1959) and Daws' own *Shoal of Time* (1965), the young men of 1954 were cast in the heroic mold. They proved their Americanism during World War II in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. They used the GI Bill of Rights to prepare themselves for leadership in postwar Hawai'i. And they fought in the Territorial and State legislatures for racial equality, a better life for Hawai'i's workers, more equitable tax laws, and a better educational system.

*Land and Power in Hawaii* tells another side of the story—that of their efforts to use political power to enrich themselves through land speculation. George Cooper did most of the research for the book, and his labors were prodigious. Cooper reviewed 26 years of annual statements on file with state and territorial governments, more than 57,000 documents. There he found the records of Hawai'i's real estate *huis* and "the names of virtually the entire political power structure of Hawaii that evolved out of the 'Democratic revolution.'"

Cooper's list of public officeholders and political figures, who acted as either real estate investors, developers, consultants, attorneys, brokers, or salespersons, runs to 279 names. It includes former State Supreme Court Justice Kazuhisa Abe, three-term Governor George Ariyoshi, former State Senator Kenneth Brown, former United

States Senator Hiram Fong, former University of Hawai'i Regent Wallace Fujiyama, former State Senator Mits Kido and his brother, former State Land Board Chairman Sunao Kido, former Kaua'i Supervisor Clinton Shiraishi, Bishop Estate Trustee Matsuo Takabuki, and Governor Burns' Maui representative Masaru "Pundy" Yokouchi. Approximately two-thirds of the names on Cooper's list are Asian American, the Japanese, Chinese, and, to a much lesser extent, Filipinos, who saw the Democratic Party as their instrument for achieving equal opportunity in the Islands.

Cooper and Daws follow this interlocking directorate of politicians and real estate interests through a quarter century of foot dragging on major land reform, conflicts of interest on the State Land Use Commission and the Honolulu City Council, and service to organized labor, big business, and organized crime. They then focus on case studies on each of the major islands: Hawai'i's lava field subdivisions, the development of Kihei on Maui, O'ahu's Salt Lake development, and Kaua'i's Nukoli'i. The authors single out one politician, George Ariyoshi, for his crucial opposition to the Maryland Land Reform Act, his investment in and legal representation of those who developed real estate, and his evolution from a "democrat" to a very establishment figure.

In almost every instance, Cooper and Daws make their case, demonstrating irrefutably that Democratic politicians used their offices and their influence to benefit themselves and their friends. Yet their single-mindedness in preparing their indictment flaws their work.

Gavan Daws has demonstrated his credentials as a fine prose stylist in each of his previous books. Yet it is impossible to find his hand in *Land and Power in Hawaii*. It is a slow, plodding work, which reads too much like a legal brief. In documenting the Democrats' guilt, the authors too often leave the reader hopelessly lost in mid chapter, sometimes in mid paragraph.

Part of the clumsiness of the prose can be attributed to the subject matter. As one observer of land use has said, the whole process can turn your brain to fried noodles. Part, too, can be explained by the authors' sense of fairness; they allow every actor his voice, every assertion its qualifier. But it all slows the prose. Too much of too many copies of *Land and Power in Hawaii* will go unread.

Cooper and Daws also fall prey to a common failing of Hawai'i's historians: telling the Islands' story as if the state operated in isolation from the rest of the country. Throughout the United States, in city

after city and state after state, from the mid 19th Century to the present, emerging immigrant groups have used their numbers to seize political power. They've then used their political influence to achieve some measure of economic equality for their people. These episodes in American democratic history have never been very pretty. They've involved the parcelling out of political patronage with little consideration of merit, the awarding of contracts to political friends rather than to the lowest bidder, influence peddling, and often blatant conflicts of interest.

There's sweet irony here. At the onset of World War II much of *haole* Hawai'i questioned the Americanism of Island Japanese. They left their blood across Italy, France, and the Pacific Islands to prove the *haoles* wrong. Still, in postwar Hawai'i *haoles* accused Asians of being the mindless dupes of a Communist ILWU. Cooper and Daws have proven conclusively that Hawai'i's Asian Americans pass two of the required tests of Americanism: they're good democrats and better capitalists.

Hawai'i's 1954 revolution was Jacksonian. It marked the political emergence of little men, the sons of plantation laborers. They were too far down Hawai'i's economic and social scales to be satisfied with their \$1,000 per legislative session. So they used their influence to make more. They formed *huis*, the only means of investment for little men without sufficient capital of their own, to speculate in land.

Patrician academicians took a century to make their peace with America's Jacksonian revolution; it was not until the New Deal that sympathetic treatments of the Jacksonian era, with all of its roistering greed, began to emerge. And Mānoa's academics could never accept Burns and Ariyoshi Democracy. Among other things, the new Democrats would not take the vow of poverty required of all who make the University campus their home. In their indictment of the real estate dealings of Hawai'i's elected Democrats, Cooper and Daws are very much in the tradition of patrician history.

But *Land and Power* is also reminiscent of Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913). Beard read records of the security holdings of the Constitution's framers, and he interpreted their establishment of a strong central government as an attempt to protect their holdings. Beard's work was flawed, for it was single-factor analysis. But he changed, for all time, historians' views of the nation's founders as a group of disinterested idealists.

Neither were the Democrats of 1954 disinterested idealists; they

were also men on the make. Cooper and Daws have proven that. And no future Hawai'i historian can ignore their work.

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*Social Process in Hawaii*, vol. 31, 1984-1985. Edited by Gerard Sullivan and Gary Hawes. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, for the Department of Sociology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu [1985]. Xii + 216 pp. \$8.50 (paper).

Collectively titled "The Political Economy of Hawaii," this edition of *Social Process in Hawaii* (the 31st in a once-annual series initiated in 1935) contains seven original articles, one contribution labeled "commentary," and two long book reviews. Three of the articles, as well as the commentary, are primarily concerned with current issues on recent developments, and, while interesting and provocative, they will not be discussed in this review. This group includes Robert H. Stauffer's "The Tragic Maturing of Hawaii's Economy," Richard Pratt's "The Great Hawaiian Milk Crisis: Science, Policy and Economic Interest," Joyce N. Chinen's "Sectors of Productive Capital and Income Inequality in Hawaii, 1975," and Noel Kent's commentary, "Straws in the Wind."

The remaining four articles and both book reviews contain substantial amounts of historical description or analysis, and are thus especially likely to interest readers of the *HJH*.

The tone for many of these articles is set by Sam Pooley's foreword, with its evocation of Vietnam era anti-war protests and references to "the failure of liberalism," "declining social relevance of the Democratic Party in Hawaii," "ossification and gentrification of much of the University of Hawaii," and corporate subversion of social movements.

The first of the more historically oriented articles is Ian Y. Lind's "Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawai'i." Although demographers, economists, and statisticians have for many years been aware of the profound influence of the armed forces in Hawai'i, their colleagues among the historians, political scientists, and sociologists (groups heavily represented in this collection) have heretofore been slower to respond, and Lind's contribution is thus particularly

welcome. Although a sober, scholarly analysis, it occasionally verges on farce, as in its accounts of inter-service squabbles over "the relative precedence of rear-admirals and major-generals" and how the Pearl Harbor Commandant downgraded the Territorial Governor to a mere 17-gun salute. Much more chilling is the description, based partly on previously unpublished sources, of the military's efforts to put the Islands under a "commission" government headed by a Governor who would also be "a general officer of the line." Lind stresses the frequent military-civilian alliances and the inherent instability of the military's role.

The longest article in the volume, and potentially the most controversial, is "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence," by Haunani-Kay Trask. Calling Hawai'i "a colony of the United States" since 1810, the author traces the devastating impact of American greed, racism, political machination, materialism, and religious fervor on Hawaiian culture. Often in blunt language, she assesses the largely negative roles of Hawai'i's exploiters, from Captain Cook through today's "haole-Japanese condominium," with particular attention to activities of American businessmen and missionaries. An interesting footnote expands on the author's estimate of the precontact population of Hawaii, which at 500,000 is double the figure proposed by many other serious students of the subject. Much of the remainder of the paper is devoted to an account of the emergence (around 1970) of modern Hawaiian nationalism and its recent flowering.

In "The Hawaii Music Industry" Elizabeth Bentzel Buck focuses on "the role it has played in the creation, production and performance of music in Hawaii." Using historical as well as more recent sources, the author describes the influences exerted by local composers and performers, record producers, music publishers, distributors, retailers, and promoters, broadcasters, critics, hotels, and nightclubs. Most of her historical material has previously appeared in much greater detail in *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, edited by George S. Kanahele.

"The Political Economy of Hawaii and Working Class Consciousness," by Edward D. Beechert, may be viewed as something of a postscript of the author's 1985 volume, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History*. Casting his subject to some extent in Marxian terms, Beechert summarizes the long history of labor recruitment, exploitation, and organization in the Islands. The article concludes with consideration of post-Statehood trends, in which employment has shifted to lower-paying, frequently unorganized service occupations.

Two relatively long book reviews end the volume. One, by Dan Boylan, discusses Ronald Takaki's *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*, calling it "one of the half dozen finest works ever written on aspects of Hawaii's history." The other review, by Robert S. Cahill, is titled "Notes on the Cost of Life in Modern Hawaii: A Review of Noel J. Kent's *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*." Thoughtful and generally favorable, Cahill's comments nonetheless point up some of the limitations of Kent's analysis. Kent himself, as noted earlier, is also represented in this volume, with his sardonic commentary on recent Island developments, especially as epitomized in the Nukoli'i controversy.

Taken as a whole, this edition of *Social Process* should provide a lively and useful addition to Hawai'i's libraries, both public and personal. The vigorous rhetoric used by several of the authors—in a noticeable break with earlier issues—may put off more traditional readers, or those who identify with "establishment" values. History buffs, moreover, may feel that, except for Lind's article, relatively little in the way of new information or vital insights has been added. Although this may be true, most readers will agree that these authors have viewed Island conditions (both historical and current) from a perspective seldom found in earlier scholarly writing. Discounting occasional overstatement, that perspective is certainly a valid one.

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